/17 cont./

Preparation for achieving the upright position is started off by the mother, since when he is three months or sometimes less, she stands him on his feet, supporting him by the armpits and, later, the child will do the same by himself, holding on to his mother's shoulders. When he is going about his usual life on the floor, once he can sit up alone, he finds opportunities to make use of his legs, and once he comes upon something to grip he can pull himself up. With such help he starts off on his first steps, and from the tenth or eleventh month (the fourteenth at the latest), with individual differences, he starts to take his first steps without assistance. Then his mother will fix below the inner eaves /alero/ of the house a horizontal rail of a handy length and height for the child to practice his newly acquired skill.

At two years the infant walks all about the house as well as along the paths that lead to the well or the corn field. If it is a boy, the father, the older brothers, or the uncles like to take him with them when they go to near-by places to graze the livestock, so that he may learn and become strong. On these excursions the child begins learning his future work, first by observation and later by participating, when his age permits, until he becomes expert. It usually happens that the Guajiro shows a marked preference even as a child for some certain class of livestock and so, when he is a little bigger, he is put in charge of these, a responsibility he discharges with pleasure during the greater part of the day in the company of his father, uncle, or brothers. After an early breakfast he collects the part of the flock or herd he is responsible for, or he brings them out of the corral where they have slept. He pastures them during the day, never letting them out of his sight, lying down in the shade during the hottest hours of the day, or returning to his hammock at home if not too far away. Toward nightfall he returns home with the livestock to water them and put them into the corrals, or after counting them he leaves them near by in a safe place close to the house.

/39 cont./

604 presents of livestock the boy received at his birth or later or the legacies from his father, takes him under his care. He, the uncle, is not only responsible for looking after his social conduct and for instructing him in normal behavior while he is under his
• 603 care but also for teaching him the work of pasturing. He takes
607 the boy with him /40/ when he is so occupied, and he passes on his knowledge in order that the boy may become a well-trained owner of livestock or, if he is poor, that he may learn how to look after them, because it is not infrequent that a Guajiro has in his charge the livestock of some rich man, and with these he teaches his nephew.

As the preference of a Guajiro for one special type of livestock shows up early in his life, the uncle should guide him along those lines, giving him every kind of advice in the best way to care for them, with practice to prove his theories.

607 During this time the uncle not only passes on his knowledge
604 of stock raising to the boy but, when talking to him of the past of his group or family, when he recounts some incident, when correcting him or telling him a story, he passes on the strict traditions of the community. For it is the uncle at this period who is responsible for his nephew, and as he considers him his actual son, he tries to make of him someone similar to himself.

Another of the uncle's responsibilities is to show the young-
608 ster how to carry out agricultural duties at the right seasons.
604 If he owns agricultural land he will usually give him a plot so that the boy can till it when he acquires the strength to do so; or else he continues to teach him on his own piece of land until he is trained in these activities. This handing over of a plot of land, as well as of his livestock when the boy is considered capable of handling his personal property successfully, is the basis of his family and economic independence and the road toward the purchase of his first wife, by which the boy becomes a man and is ready to live his life as an adult. This plot of
[628] land, for which he inherits rights of cultivation, gives him a certain prestige because arable land of fertile quality is scarce,

868 /40 cont./
604 and if he inherits a piece he will acquire the status of the uncle
[728] who has made him the owner.

The boy also learns from the uncle skill in certain tasks in which the latter is practiced, such as the making of harness and weapons, housebuilding, and other accomplishments like horse riding, lassoing, horse racing, etc.

867 Another very important function also learnt from the uncle,
604 although it might be self-taught, is that of arbitrator or cacique. From the uncle the boy takes in the legal tradition of the peninsula, and, listening to stories of acts which have occurred in the past, he learns the line of reasoning observed, the psychology, and the problems of his kin, the mastery of the language, all essential requirements for success when the responsibility passes into his hands.

868 While living with the uncle the boy also becomes adept
604 at hunting, as he accompanies him on his expeditions, during which he learns all the necessary details until he becomes expert in all /41/ respects, including laying traps to catch the animals that damage the crops. And secondarily, in addition to hunting and livestock or pastoral activity, the boy learns the art of stalking, which in hunting is important in order to get better results and is useful in stock raising also, for various reasons, such as finding a lost animal or following up thieves who attack his herd, etc.

868 Also, in war he is on this relative's side, because, accord-
721 ing to traditional Guajiro law, war unites the consanguineous
604 relatives on the maternal side. So he learns, when warlike deeds are spoken of, how to carry them out, and it is not unusual for him personally to experience the conclusions. He puts these ideas into practice when his kin go to war, headed by the maternal uncle of highest standing or the consanguineous head of most prestige. He goes with them to swell their ranks, so putting into practice what his theoretical education has taught him. Indirectly he has been training for the fray when employed in making weapons for hunting and perfecting himself

/41 cont./

868 721 604 in the way they are used. When taking part in these warlike operations he makes use of all his social and legal training, and puts into practice the tradition of his group, besides which the basic principle of consanguineous relationship, mutual aid, and backing to resist aggression from outside elements is brought home to him.

593 604 178 It is almost entirely from his maternal uncle that he learns the cultural patterns of his masculine world, as the uncle becomes for him a mold and patterns, whose example he should follow as the leading male figure on the family level. But with the process of acculturation the influence of the father has now come to the fore. Nowadays, when the father expresses a wish that his first-born should be a son, to be a companion to him in his life as a shepherd, he thereby indicates that it is he who is going to educate his sons, or at least the first-born, supplanting to a certain extent the old family figure represented by the maternal uncle. In this case the boy shares with his father the care of his own livestock as well as his father's herd, and even his mother's dowry when her elder relatives consider it advisable. And there, as in the previous case, the boy learns both the economic and cultural side of group life and becomes attached to his father both in affection and materially, a tie that did not exist before but may lead him later to take a hand in his interest, thus bringing about something previously unheard of in Guajiro tradition, that the son goes to fight in the ranks of his father's group, without any consequent claim for compensation payment or other social demand being made.

Also, as when he is with his maternal uncle, he can join in and learn at his father's side agricultural lore, hunting, fishing, and how to go on excursions into the surrounding country; /42/ he also learns the technique of masculine occupations, but what it appears he cannot yet participate in is the political life of his father as cacique, or arbitrator, as this still remains an inheritance possible only from his maternal uncle, nor in the activities relating to the shaman /piache/ as an institution.

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/42 cont./

593 With respect to the training of girls, the mother and the maternal relatives play an overwhelming part. When the family lives an isolated life, the influence of the maternal relatives diminishes, as we previously had occasion to see, but as the girl approaches puberty, she may be sent to the home of her grandmother or maternal aunts with whom she will live and whose influence will surround her at this period. We should moreover consider the occupations of a girl as she passes through different phases. When she is very young, in the poorer Guajiro 868 home, she is counted on as a helpmate to assist and replace the mother in her domestic duties so that with her and the other adult women of the family she learns to take her part in household activities: care of the children, drawing water and fetching firewood, cooking food, keeping up the fire, cleaning house, washing clothes, etc.

868 Later comes the time for her to help in the agricultural 462 work. As emigration has reduced the population of La Guajira 167 in the past few years, women have found themselves obliged to carry out work traditionally done by men. Thus there is a need to employ all hands available, and the girls of prepubertal age must contribute their help in the work. Although clearing away trees and underbrush and plowing are men's work, these are now being done by women in addition to the traditional jobs usually expected of them, such as sowing and harvesting, in which latter activity they are more effective than the men. The girls are trained in all these operations alongside the older women until they become completely expert.

868 Another angle of feminine economic life is weaving. 883 Only when she is at the prepubertal age, do the mother and her female uterine relatives take charge of training the girl, as they consider that at this age her babyhood is over and it is necessary that she should give up the freedom she has so far enjoyed in order to take an interest in weaving. If there is an aunt skilled /at weaving/ at home, she will teach the girl; if not, she goes to the home of some kinswomen and stays with

/42 cont./

868 883 them for long spells, working at her apprenticeship in the art, which she must perfect and complete during the time of seclusion at her initiation, very likely under the vigilant care of the same women. /43/

867 Also, from her elder maternal kinswomen the girl acquires all the cultural legacy of the group as well as the particular traditions of her extended family. She experiences and participates in the daily cult of the dead, and at times when an exhumation or wake takes place she attends, accompanying the women of her family, so becoming initiated into all the ceremonies and prescriptions. She also goes with them when she is approaching the threshold of puberty to be company for them on their visits in order to learn comportment in social life; she also learns the norms of hospitality when visitors come to her home, and she has to assist her kin in fulfilling them adequately. Slowly, by indirect participation, she learns the use of love cóntras /charms/ in the feminine struggle for predominance in the polygamous household, and she comes to know of these problems as she sees them being worked out in the lives of her mother and her relatives. She also gets to know of the intergroup struggles and their consequences; of migration; of magic in all its intensity; of legal norms; things she learns by constant repetition of cases which have occurred in the peninsula and which she hears referred to by her relatives and friends, men and women who frequent the house.

All this cultural life reaffirms and completes the special training received during the seclusion which follows her first menstruation, when she is committed to the care of her kinswomen, who will give her detailed private and personal techniques and information and the specialties traditionally entrusted to certain families, if she is a member of such, such as, for example, the making of pottery, medicinal and magical knowledge of herbs, preparation of charms of various sorts, etc.

857 442 Childhood occupations. The occupations of the child are determined by its sex, just as in the matter of games, so that

5: Simons K-5 (ca. 1882) 1885
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whom to exercise his begging propensities. To mention the dead before the relations is a dreadful offence, often punished by death; for if it happens in the dead person's rancho, with nephew or uncle present, they will assuredly kill the offender on the spot if possible. If not on the spur of the moment, it resolves itself into a heavy fine, usually two or more oxen. Even if none of the dead person's relations are present, any friend can carry the news to the relations, and compensation is at once required. When not given it is forcibly taken, probably resented, and the two castes are at war. It is not wise to mention names of any sort in the Goajira in mixed company. 551 628 689

Another peculiar case: if a child dies in the custody of the mother or father, and they are living separate at the time of its death, then tear-money has to be paid by the one, under whose care the child died, to the other. This is "Taguira suchirua tachón," "My tears on account of my child." To demand payment for debts, *achecaka*, is one thing, and to demand compensation, *wasps*, is another. They are generally pretty punctual in paying debts; should the debtor die, the creditor is secure, for the relations will suffer anything rather than allow the name of their dead to be abused. The following case of murder I witnessed in Ataipa. Some Pushaiuas drinking, one got on to a strange horse, and was ordered off by the owner, on not complying he was shot dead. Both parties being poor and near relations, it was arranged as follows: First payment, eight sheep, two oxen, one horse, two necklaces of cornelian beads, two sirapos of black beads (about 16 lbs.). Six months afterwards, second payment, similar to first. A few months after a third payment is asked, but is more an extra than anything else. After second payment all animosity ceases, and the two families can look again at each other on meeting. Should an Indian in attempting to kill another be wounded or killed, his family demand the same as though no attempt were made. 672 682 [426] [624] [628]

Among domestic customs, the one that calls most attention is shutting up their young girls on arriving at womanhood. The custom is religiously carried out throughout the country. Each girl is enclosed in a separate little hut by herself. She is stripped of all her ornaments, even to her beads and sirapo, and all her clothing with the exception of the long loose cotton gown, nor is she allowed to cut her hair. For the first couple of days, drinking water is denied her, the only food being *hayapa*, a composition of medicinal herbs. According to birth, a rigorous diet is observed the first month, no meat being allowed. She can be freely mentioned and is merely alluded to by her relations as "sarties sirv pasru," "she is shut up in her house." The term of retirement varies according to the wealth and rank of her family. Poor people cannot afford to keep girls idle more than a couple of weeks or a month; whereas the rich confine them for one, two, or even four years. It is while in this state that she learns all women's requirements— 881 [278] [262] [556] [368]

S: Simons K-5 (ca. 1882) 1885
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88 [868] weaving, making dresses, hammocks, sashes, &c., sewing, and all the little knick-knacks Indians love so well.

The confinement is not so isolated as it seems, generally several of her female relations are round the door with the enclosed, who of course becomes rather stout, much blanched, almost white, and some exceedingly beautiful. Strangers and men are not excluded from peeping in through [584] the door, always with an eye to matrimony, and she can be sold and liberated at once, though her husband if rich prefers leaving her to complete her term of schooling. On re-entering to society again, a special festival, *akuttis*, is held with dancing, &c. An ox is killed, and the girl is dressed in the clothes she has made; her hair is cut and she resumes all her beads, necklaces, bracelets, and other ornaments.

562 [579] Women are much respected by the Goajiros. In a quarrel or drunken brawl, women often save bloodshed by stepping in and tearing the weapons out of their husband's or brother's hand. Travelling with women is consequently perfectly safe, and in case of danger, if one undertakes to protect a stranger, he may rely upon coming out all right.

583 Matrimony is a mere case of barter. The girl is sold for a certain price, fixed by the father. This is paid by the intended husband, and divided by the father, who appropriates the best part for himself and his relations, the rest going to the wife's relations. As it is chiefly in 585 cattle, these are killed and a kind of bridal festival held. There is no other ceremony. A wife is under obligation to support her husband, 593 find him in food, clothes, &c. She does most of the trading, and a [462] contract made with an Indian is worthless, should his better half object. [583] An Indian cannot inflict bodily injury on his wife, for he becomes liable to her relations, and should she die during childbirth he has to repay the father what he gave for her. But if the wife is untrue (a rare occur- [684] rence) he demands from the father the price he paid for her, who if he cannot refund, helps him to recover from the seducer, plus tear or compensation from his mother-in-law. At the husband's death, the 587 wife becomes a legacy to his brother, usually the youngest; if there are 769 none, then his nephew inherits her. The daughter of a chief is worth, 583 according to his wealth and power (i. e. the number of men he can dispose of in a fight) from 6 to 150 head of cattle (12*l.* to 300*l.*).

764 When a person dies, a grand drinking festival is given, that lasts as long as there is anything to drink—days, and even weeks, with the wealthy. These latter are buried twice, and have two festivals. A rich person is always buried in the rancho, and on the spot where he was born; being often carried for that purpose immense distances. A fire is lighted every night from sunset to sunrise in front of the grave, for the sole use of the dead. Immense piles of wood are gathered for this purpose, as the body is kept two years in the house. Then all the relations can meet on a certain day, and the second feast takes place, when the bones are carefully gathered, placed in a jar, and consigned to the

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
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How must a girl look to find favour with them? She must be tall, broad-hipped and have firm prominent breasts and well-rounded curves. Flabbiness the men do not like, but they do not seem to worry about the shape of their women's legs. These, of course, are hidden beneath the wide tunic, but the wind sweeps this against them, outlining them. It is fortunate for the Guajiro women that their men do not attach importance to the shape of their legs, for they are seldom lovely. To our eyes they seem too short and badly shaped. The men attach much importance to gentle, dignified behaviour. The Guajiro girl should have large eyes and good teeth, but the most important thing of all is that she should be light-skinned; that is the hall-mark of gentility. No girl ever neglects her beauty decoctions, not even when she is in the charge of the nuns at the mission station and thus not isolated as the rule is at home. The rules she has to observe and the medicines she must take are of importance not only for her appearance, but also for her physique. If she follows her instructions, she will give birth without difficulty and there will be no risk of the baby being stillborn. Her mother and her family are held to be partially responsible if the first-born dies in or after birth, for that means that on some point the complicated rules governing the girl's period of incarceration have been neglected.

A girl is by no means idle while she is shut up; quite the contrary. She spins and weaves industriously, under supervision of the old woman, and learns the details of housekeeping and how to prepare different foods. Actually she will know most of this already, having taken a more or less active part in the work of the household ever since she was able to walk. She also receives instruction in how to behave, is initiated into the duties incumbent upon a housewife, what she must do as spouse and mother, in the various aspects of married life and in the mysteries of sex.

No man is allowed to enter the girl's little hut, and she is not allowed to meet men, receive visitors or be with her family, if visitors come. When the guardian considers that the girl can be let out, usually after a year or two—the news spreads quickly and guests start to come with or without

7:Bolinder T-5 (1920, 1955) 1957
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also encourages it to crawl and walk. Indian babies can sit without help, when a white baby is still unable to raise itself. At six months the brown Indian baby is already a toddler.

The conversation turned on to the upbringing of children. Even in its earliest games the Indian babe imitates its parents' occupations, thus amusing itself and learning at the same time. The Indians are very careful to see that from the beginning the children learn to distinguish between the men's and women's spheres of work. An Indian father would be very indignant if he saw his baby son playing at cooking, which is not male work. Therefore the son accompanies his father to the herds even as quite an infant, while his sister will stay at home.

We had already noticed that children were sometimes chastized, which is not usual among other primitive Indians. The old women saw that they behaved themselves and were not disobedient. Food was rationed both for the children and the grown-ups, and it was considered very shabby to pinch another's helping. To drop anything edible on to the ground was strictly punished, and the worst offence of all was for a child in anger to throw food on to the ground and trample it. Possibly this was yet another relic of Moorish custom, for in Morocco it is considered a serious crime to spill crumbs of bread. When the children became bigger they were merely scolded, but they were then generally no longer under their parents' supervision, but with relations with whom they spend long periods. The first-born son usually grows up with his eldest maternal uncle, who is the boy's real guardian, and he teaches him cattle-rearing and agriculture and the queer laws of his people.

Girls also go to their mother's relations and help in the household. We had already seen how a Guajiro boy had to work. He had to be at it from the moment he stepped out of his hammock at three in the morning. First he and some others gathered the cattle to water them. If they were watered at a deep casimba, he had to run up and down with water-jars to fill the troughs of hollowed-out trunks. He

8:Armstrong & Métraux E-4 (no date) 1948
SC13 Goajiro SC13



726 on equal terms. He then approached the enemy from the left while making quick movements, jumps, and turns, with his legs apart and his knees bent. More recently, according to Ernst (1887 c), war is not declared, attempts being made to take the enemy by surprise.

[747] Wars last indefinitely, sometimes being broken by a peace brought about by an influential "civilizado" or the Capuchin monks, the latter sometimes paying the retribution demanded out of their own pockets.

579 Some tribes, such as the *Cosina* of Serrania Cosina (actually a conglomeration of outcastes rather than a sib), make their living almost entirely by robbery and pillage, destroying houses, stealing cattle, and killing or enslaving their enemies.

## LIFE CYCLE

843 **Birth and childhood.**—During pregnancy a woman continues to do her heavy work up to the very hour of delivery. At childbirth, the shaman

844 pronounces various spells over the patient and applies poultices made of

[756] dried flowers, roots, etc. A large, heavy stone placed over the womb and vigorous massaging bring about the birth. If the placenta is not soon expelled, the woman drinks a medicine concocted by the medicine man. As soon as the child is safely delivered the father serves rum and chicha

[484] to all his relatives. If the pains of childbirth appear when the sib is on the march, the woman mounts and rides ahead so that when the sib catches up the event is practically over. The husband cuts the cord with his machete and cauterizes its ends with a glowing ember. The woman

[854] then continues on the march with the child in a sling on her back. When the permanent camp is reached she washes herself and the child.

851 Baptism is a Christian ceremony which the *Goajiro* have adopted, and

551 most of the Indians are called by Spanish names, as their real names may

177 not be mentioned. Teknonymy is practiced; a parent is addressed by its child's name plus a prefix, nushi or sushi for the father, ni or si for the mother. Thus, a father may be called Nushijuan after a son or Sushijuana after a daughter.

857 At 6 or 7, girls learn to grind salt, pick cotton, and tend the smaller

868 animals; the boys imitate their fathers.

855 Parents are said to show little affection for their children, sometimes

[435] selling them at Sinamaica. They receive $10 or $15 for a child of 8 or 9 years. The purchaser becomes the child's guardian, teaches him the Catholic faith, and keeps him until he is 17 years old. These children

[536 rarely return home. Abandoned children are taken to the San Antonio

797] orphanage, where the girls continue to wear their *Goajiro* dress, but the boys are put into jackets and pants.

881 **Girls' puberty.**—At her first menstruation a girl is isolated in a small dark hut and stripped of all her ornaments. She lies in a hammock, sometimes hoisted near the roof. For the first 2 days she drinks no